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off on the upper surface. The beaming tool is then grasped in both hands and pushed away from the user against the grain of the hair over the skin where it lies on the smoothed surface of the stick or leg. This process is the same as that followed by the Northern Ojibwa and Eastern Cree. The next step is to stretch the skin on a square, upright frame. A flesher tool is then brought to bear, although the beamer is often made to answer this purpose. When the skin has been fleshed, it is soaked in a mixture of deer's brains and water. No grease is added. This preparation is kept in liquid form in a pail and lasts some time. After remaining in the brain fluid for a time, the skin is taken out and thoroughly washed. Then it is taken by the tanner—who is always a woman—and dried. While the skin is drying, it is rubbed with a wooden spatula to make it flexible. It is now ready for the last step—smoking. For this process it is first sewed up into a cylindrical shape, and the upper end is tied together to form a bag. By this closed upper end it is then suspended over a shallow hole from a stick driven obliquely into the ground at an angle of about 45 degrees. In the hole a fire is built with dried wood. The open lower edge of the skin bag is pegged or fastened to the ground about the edge of the hole.

281 412

[463]

Games and Amusements

526

Lacrosse was the favorite game of the Winnebago. This was generally played on ceremonial occasions. Whenever played, the two divisions of the tribe, the Waⁿgɛre'gi and the Maⁿɛ'gi, were pitted against each other. There were two kinds of lacrosse, one played by men and the other played by women; these differed in a number of particulars.

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FIG. 27.—Woo's lacrosse. A, Goal. B, B', Goal posts of widened side. C, C', Goal posts of narrow side. D, Mound from which ball is thrown.

Men's lacrosse.—The men's game was called *tcuhonino'pagɛ hiⁿ'iriⁿ'*. There were either 12 or 22 men on each side, placed in the following manner: Two, one of each side, stood in front of the arched sapling which constituted one of the goals (*wal'a'rani*); these were called *wiⁿ'iŋgra*. There were, of course, two goals, each about 10 feet high, one at each end of the field. About midway between the goals a small mound was made from which the ball was thrown. Ten or twenty men, as the case may be, covered the ground between the mound and the two men stationed at each *wal'a'rani*. The lacrosse stick was called *tcuhonadu'gɛ*, and the ball used either *tci-oko'nⁿaⁿkra* or *wa'ⁿi'ⁿpa*. The object of the game was to put the ball through the goal four times. At the beginning of the game the ball was thrown straight into the air from the mound. (For plan of the game, see fig. 27.)

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Ceremonial lacrosse.—The following description of a ceremonial lacrosse game was given by a member of the Bear clan:

The Waⁿgɛre'gi and the Maⁿɛ'gi people were to play lacrosse. So the Waⁿgɛre'gi took an invitation stick and attached some tobacco to it and sent it to the Maⁿɛ'gi people. Then they fixed a day for the contest. The contest was to be in four days. In the meantime both sides were to get ready, for some might be without balls or sticks, etc. Then the Waⁿgɛre'gi said, "We are the faster and will therefore go and

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look for food." When they returned the leader of the Waŋgxre'gi said again, "We are the fleeter and will therefore win from our opponents. In addition to that we are holy and for that reason we will be strengthened in the coming contest." Then the leader of the Mage'gi said, "I will first pour tobacco and then I will arise with the blessing of life which was bestowed upon me and through which I know my men will be strengthened." Then they arranged the goals, i. e., the *wak'a'rani*, and arranged for the points. Then they took an emetic and went into a vapor-bath in order to strengthen themselves. The goals were now standing far apart from each other. Then the people who were to play gathered on the field and two men from each side began to tell their war exploits. First, one of the Waŋgxre'gi men told how he had cut off an enemy's head; how proud his sisters had been at receiving the gifts and how they had danced in the Victory Dance. "With such a man you will have to play," he shouted to those on the other side. Then a man from the Mage'gi side said, "I also am a brave man. I did with the enemy as I pleased. Once when an enemy had been killed between the firing lines, I rushed for him and in the midst of bullets I cut off his head. With such a man you will have to fight," he shouted to those on the other side. Then he gave a whoop and the ball was thrown into the air and they began to play lacrosse. Those who first succeeded in putting the ball through the *wak'a'rani* four times would be declared the winners. All day they played and in the evening they stopped. Lacrosse was the favorite game among the Winnebago. This is all. 526 [783]

Women's lacrosse.—The women's game was called *naiyaca'radji wak'isik'*. Ten women took part on each side; they all stood in front of the goal, which consisted merely of a line drawn on the surface of the ground, called *wak'a'rani* as in the men's game. The lacrosse stick (*tcabenopa*) was straight. The "ball" consisted of two balls tied together by a string (*naiyaca'radji'u wa'i'ina*). This was put into play by being thrown from a point midway between the goals straight up into the air. The side that hit over the goal four times won. 526 462

Football.—Football was played by men. The *wak'a'rani* was merely a line drawn on the surface of the ground. The 16 or 20 men who took part on each side arranged themselves in front of either *wak'a'rani*. The ball used was a fairly large one made of deer's hair, covered with hide from the same animal. It was put in play in the middle of the field and the side that kicked the ball over the goal four times won the game. 526 [462]

Hit-the-tree game (*tcibonaŋgia nai'djd hap'a-na'i*).—This consisted merely of a test of markmanship. A tree (*na' hadjiŋa*) about 8 feet high and 8 inches in diameter was selected and the one who hit it from a certain distance received a prize. Any number of people could participate.

The kicking game.—This was a very rough sport in which men only took part. Two men took turns in kicking each other as hard as they could, the one who held out the longer being the winner. [462]

The moccasin game.—One of the favorite games of the Winnebago. Five men took positions directly opposite their five opponents. Between the two rows of players, in front of each man was a recep- 524

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Tree game.—Two trees are selected about 20 feet apart, one having a branch about 15 feet from the ground. A number of people stand ready at the side of this tree and the one whose turn it is to play tries to hit the branch. When he succeeds in doing so all run toward the other tree. As soon as the player gets the ball he tries to hit the runners. If successful in this before the others have reached the tree he wins; otherwise they are "safe" and he must try again. The Winnebago called this game *hahi'hidjikᵉʷᵉ*. 526

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

Canoes and dugouts.—All the boats found in the early days in the territory originally inhabited by the Winnebago were dugouts, yet a number of the tribe questioned denied positively that boats of this kind were in common use before the coming of the whites. According to these informants, in former times the Winnebago always had their home in a birch country, and had at hand, therefore, the requisite material for making canoes; moreover, birch-bark canoes were much easier to construct than dugouts, for which logs had to be hollowed by burning—a process that might consume weeks. Only when the whites introduced the ax and the knife did it become practicable to make dugouts. These implements became available at the time of the southern migration of the tribe into a region where birch bark was scarce, and one result of the change was the substitution of the dugout for the canoe. The validity of this explanation is supported by the same line of argument as in the case of the wooden vessels. 501 [412 177 167]

Snowshoes. The snowshoes of the Winnebago were similar to those used by the Menomince, with this difference, that the two pieces of wood forming the "handle," instead of being tied together for their whole length, as among the latter, were left unfastened for about 5 inches at the end. This difference is immediately detected (pl. 40) by the present-day Winnebago, who can easily identify, by the feature mentioned, snowshoes belonging to the tribe. 481 [171]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The musical instruments of the Winnebago seem to have been restricted to the flute, drum, and gourd. The flute was made of red cedar and usually had a range of five or six notes; it was used at many ceremonies, and especially by young men when courting. The drum consisted of a framework (in later days a wooden pail or a barrel served the purpose), over which a skin was drawn very tight. A small quantity of water was always kept in the drum so that the skin could be wet as often as necessary. Rattles consisted of dried gourds filled, in olden times, with seeds, in more modern times with buckshot (pl. 30, *d*, *f*). 534

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616 As the basis of organization in a game, the twofold division finds
526 expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always
pitted against the *manegi*. A well-known myth is associated with
[173] this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the
waŋgeregi and *manegi* decided their respective rank by playing a
game in which they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi*
won and for that reason the chiefs of the tribe have been selected
from this division. A division into two halves when playing cere-
monial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago but of
[171] the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the
former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned
political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no
such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves
merely on this occasion.

616 Up to the present we have treated the two divisions as social units
614 per se, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it
may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgeregi* people are some-
times spoken of as the Bird clan (*waniŋk hakik'aradjera*), and that the
four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their
clan origin myths so similar, that the assumption of the four clans
representing one clan that subsequently split up into a number of
divisions is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is,
however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan op-
posed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, for his-
torically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but
one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical
equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the dis-
parity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of
the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

Clan Organization

614 There are 12 clans among the Winnebago with the following names
A. *Waŋgeregi herera* (those who are above):[1]
1. *wakandja*, thunderbird.
2. *waŋgiŋra waŋkrik*, war-people.
3. *teazeep*, eagle.
4. *ruiega*, pigeon (extinct).

B. *manegi herera* (those who are on earth):
5. *hunik*, bear.
6. *caŋkteuŋk'*, wolf.
7. *waktcegi*, water spirit.
8. *tes*, deer.
9. *hu"ne"*, elk.

[1] All the clans of the upper phratry are also called *ekuhaneu*, "Those-with-b-wings." This name is found in connection.

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R.'S FASTING.

(R. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 787 776 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.* The Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533]

SONGS

Ho'ate k'ĕne'djo'e'dja rahi'jĕ?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'ĕne' hitcak'ĕne' ha'jinowi'ne.
Well, my friend, shoot at it he him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you." Thus 776 752 159 787 [526] we bless you. With life also we bless you."

ARATCOE'KA'S FASTING **

Aratcge'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

* In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

** The name is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

*** This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mould. It evidently relates to the fasting experience of a well-known man.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgerecgi* would be on the south and the two for the *maŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk'wohq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk'wohq*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgerecgi* division.

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgerecgi* are always pitted against the *maŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgerecgi* and *maŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgerecgi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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171 The division of the
616 tribe into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago, but of the Omaha, Menominee,
526 Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion, although we know that this is not the only occasion upon which it behaves in this manner.

174 Up to the present, we have treated the two divisions as
614 social units *per se*, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgeregi*
616 people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*waⁿcŋkˑ hokikˑaradjəra*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, one of them even declaring the other three bird clans to be merely the descendants of the three younger thunderbird ancestors, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that became split up into a number of divisions, is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, since historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

THE CLAN ORGANIZATION.

614 There are twelve clans (*hokikˑaradjəra*) among the Winne-
[616] bago: the Thunderbird (*wakˑandja*), the Warrior (*wonayere waŋkcikˑ*), the Eagle (*tcaxecpˑ*), and Pigeon (*ruˑtcgˑ*), now extinct, belonging to the *waŋgeregi* half; and the Bear (*huŋkˑ*), Wolf (*cuŋktcuŋkˑ*), Buffalo (*tce*), Water-spirit (*waktcexi*), Deer (*tcaˑ*), Elk (*huwą*), Snake (*wakˑą*), and Fish (*hoˑ*), all belonging to the *mąŋegi* half.

In addition to the above names, we have the name Chief (*huŋk*) applied to the Thunderbird; Hawk (*kerecų*), to the Warrior; (*manųpe*) Soldier, to the Bear clans.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 22 [223] good shot and I was greatly his inferior. He often killed pheasants.

*159 648 ● 526 Whenever the older people went to town circulating petitions for help we youngsters always went along. We always took our bows and arrows with us for the Whites wanted to see how well we could shoot. Often they placed five-cent pieces on some object at a considerable distance and had us shoot at them. We generally hit a number. I would also let my brother shoot at twenty-five cent pieces that I held between my fingers and he never hit my fingers. We would often make as much as five dollars in this way and this money we always gave to our parents.

*159 22 [131] [86] In summer the Winnebago would return to Black River Falls (Wisconsin). We used to go out with our bows and arrows and stay out all day. At evening when we returned we of course always expected to get a scolding and we therefore had a good excuse ready. It really would have been much better had we returned earlier in the day, but we were enjoying ourselves so much hunting that night overtook us when we were still a long distance from home. Often we would not eat anything at all all day, but to that we were accustomed. Sometimes we would go fishing on a stream nearby, forget all about the time, and then return home very late. We got a scolding then even although we had a good excuse.

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§18. *My Brother Is Murdered*

*159 Shortly after this my elder brother was killed. We
[682] two had grown up together and had hardly ever been
[152] separated. I felt quite heartbroken over it. I longed
to kill the man who had murdered him. I felt that it
would be better if I myself were dead. In this frame
*159 of mind I took to drinking a great deal. Indeed it was
213 my wish to die drinking and I would announce this
when I was drinking heavily. Up to that time I had
drunk secretly, but now I did so openly. Soon I
became a confirmed drunkard. By that time I had
quite forgotten the fact that I had wanted to die. In-
deed I enjoyed drinking very much.

I got into the habit, then, of giving women whisky
[685] and getting them hopelessly drunk and then I would
steal anything of value they possessed. I also learned
● [526] to box and soon became quite expert. I was never de-
feated, and in consequence treated every one roughly.
Every one was afraid of me because of my skill with
the gloves. My father was a strong man and so were
my elder brothers, and neither of them had ever been
[156] defeated at wrestling. For all these reasons I was very
arrogant. Besides all this I was very tall. I am six
[141] feet two inches high and weigh about two hundred and
fifty pounds. In actual fact I was not really as strong

§20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the year. We used to sell the hindquarters and sometimes ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I always wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People liked me very much on account of my long hair and I was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occasionally, blessing an individual.

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*159 541 648 ● 526 horses. I used to call myself a cowboy, principally because I wore my hair long. Many vicious horses did I ride, and I was thrown off many times. I did all this not because I felt myself to be an expert, but because I was wild. On one occasion I took part in a bicycle race on a regular racetrack. I was in full Indian costume and wore long hair.

*159 541 648 The show I had joined played at St. Paul. I took part in it every summer. I became acquainted with many people and so I was asked to come again every year. Finally it got so that I would not even return to the Indians in winter.

One season some one asked me to collect a number of Indians of whom I was to be in charge. I was told that I would be allowed ten dollars a week for each Indian and that I could pay them whatever I liked. I was quite satisfied, for I could pay them five dollars a week and thus make some money, I thought. I therefore persuaded a number of people to go along with me and we all started. We rode to the place where we were to meet the man who had made the arrangements. From there we started out and went from fair to fair. We never made any money, however, and went bankrupt. The man could not even pay us. We felt very angry and we then went to another show with whose manager I was acquainted. We were to divide the receipts.

Once we were to give our show at a certain place for the last time, for the cold weather was setting in. It was thus our last day. One of the boys came to me